AN

ESSAY

ON

LIBERTY.

LIBERTAS AURO PRETIOSIOR.

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AN ESSAY ON LIBERTY.

OF all the advantages which happen unto men, of all the conveniencies which mankind ſeems fond to be in poſſeſſion of, there is no one which carries more force and pleaſure with it than that of Liberty: it not only ſeems implanted in our very nature, but is ſo conſiſtent with the other qualifications attending human nature, that it is a matter of aſtoniſhment how any one can argue againſt this innate

principle. It is indeed the greateſt advantage of life; for without a ſufficient ſhare of Liberty, we cannot perform our duties and buſineſs; we have a reſtraint laid on our words and actions, which prevents a freedom that ought to be the birthright of every human creature. Any thing, therefore, however ſmall or trivial, that enforces and infuſes the love of Liberty into the heart, may, I truſt, be praiſe-worthy and acceptable; and though many pens have been employed in this noble ſervice, yet a theme ſo univerſal may not loſe its efficacy, much leſs its eſteem, by being now and then made the ſubject of a diſcourſe; it may add to its vigour, and keep alive the remembrance of it in the minds of men, and, as ſuch, be of ſome uſe and ſervice in the world.

Liberty ſeems to be inherent in every heart, and from the creation of the world appears to be the birthright of every creature, in whatever ſenſe we can diſtinguiſh it. Our firſt parents had all the Liberty which innocence could deſire; and their ſucceſſors had a great ſhare of it, apparent to every underſtanding: what part of it they had loſt was owing to the fall from

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virtue and obedience. There was then no tyrant to rule them, no lord to oppreſs them, no maſter to enſlave them; all were free, and happy in the enjoyment of their ſeveral poſſeſſions. But as men began to increaſe on the face of the earth, and to be diſperſed into different parts of the world, their minds ever active and reſtleſs, they began to rack their invention for new ways of life, and other forms of government; they had been ſo long uſed to this freedom of living, that they fooliſhly grew weary of it, and imagined they could be happier in any other mode. They employed themſelves in forming kings and ſtates, but it never once entered into their heads that kings might turn out tyrants, and ſuperiors might make the inferiors ſlaves. Societies were undoubtedly formed, (it would be unreaſonable and unnatural to ſuppoſe the contrary) from the time that men began to increaſe; but then theſe ſocieties rather enforced their Liberty than diminiſhed it, for they added to their love, and of courſe attached them more to each other; conſequently they became more deſirous of preſerving each other's rights, and more free in aiding and aſſiſting their

neighbour. Man indeed is formed for ſociety, and cannot live without it. That people could not live happy in a ſtate like this, may appear ſtrange and unaccountable at firſt ſight; but when we conſider that man had loſt that calmneſs and ſerenity of temper which our firſt parents had before their fall, and was never eaſy in one ſtate, but continually ſeeking new modes and different ways of life, we ſhall then no longer wonder at this change of manners; and indeed many uſeful reflections occur to us from theſe different changes in all ages of the world. The genius of man turning itſelf to the invention of new modes of government, and different forms of ſtate, gave poſterity the advantage of chooſing, out of an almoſt infinite number, that which beſt preſerved the Liberty of the people, and of making ſuch alterations as might be thought uſeful and neceſſary; for upon Liberty is founded the happineſs of a nation, and without Freedom deſolation will bear ſway, all things will wear a mournful aſpect; but Liberty will make every thing chearful. When once they had loſt their original mode of life, it was impoſſible

poſſible for them ever to recover it; for when they had the firſt ſight of a different government, they dived ſo far into it, that they could not reconcile it to their nature to retract, and from this change proceeded all the different governments now in the world. Numberleſs indeed they are, for there are no two in every reſpect alike. And the principle which led men to invent theſe modes ſeems to have been ordained by Providence; that as they were deficient in that purity and innocence their firſt parents were poſſeſſed of, and conſequently had not the Garden of Paradiſe for their habitation, they might then be excited to ſeek new modes of government, and make their choice of that which ſeemed moſt ſuitable to their diſpoſition, ſtill however preſerving their Liberty entire, for there is not a rational nation that deſires to be enſlaved, or to live under the command of an imperious tyrant.

The ſeveral ſorts of governments that have been ſupported in different ages, afford great matter for diſquiſition to the ſtudent and politician; but it is my inten-

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tion at preſent no further to enquire into the principles, conduct, and ſucceſs of the different ſtates of the univerſe, than will ſerve my purpoſe, to ſhew how acceptable Liberty is and has been to every nation; and how admirable the ſtruggles for it have ever been; how patriots, regardleſs of their connexions, have been led by the love of Liberty to give up every other conſideration but a regard for their country, and incited by that alone, could never be prevailed on by any intreaties to deſert the cauſe they had hitherto ſupported. Theſe conſiderations alone, unattended by any obſervations, will always be of uſe to poſterity, as they will enable them to follow their example, and ſeek out that method which is beſt ſuited to the nation they are inhabitants of.

The Iſraelites, who could not live contented in Canaan after they came out of Egypt, prayed that they might have a king like other nations: it is plain from thence, then, that they only wanted to follow the example of other countries, and this did not originate from them. How far Liberty prevailed in other countries at that time we

are ignorant, for little do we know of them, any more than that they were abſorbed in ignorance and idolatry: certainly they could then have no notion of any happy form of Government, but as time paſſed they became wiſer and more poliſhed. Over the Iſraelites good and bad kings reigned; for though they were called the People of God, and were moſt immediately governed by him, yet did ſome of them, when they attained to the Throne and came into the Power of the Kingdom, ſo far degenerate, as to act moſt notoriouſly the parts of tyrants, and leave a ſtamp of infamy on their names; while others of moſt exalted virtue left a character behind them that will laſt with the world, and be ever in the memory of all poſterity. Their Government ſuffering little variation, can afford us no other than this moral obſervation, that while they remained impreſſed with a due ſenſe of their obligation to God, and virtue guided all their actions, they were happy in a ſtate of Liberty, formed by wiſdom: but when their hearts went aſtray, they then were delivered over unto Captivity, and lamented their deſertion from virtue and obedience.

But other countries, as they had not any revelation whereby to form their government, were obliged to walk after the law of nature, and human wiſdom: we ſhall ſee what great fondneſs and affection they ſhewed for Liberty. Of their firſt outſet (as I mentioned above) we know ſcarce any thing; but by degrees, as the Arts and Sciences prevailed among them, they became more popular and better known. The government of Egypt ſeems to have been what we ſhould now call monarchical. Liberty, therefore, could not in any great degree prevail among the Egyptians; the Arts and Sciences are ſaid to have originated from that people; but as they grew older, knowledge ſeems to have left them, and to have fled to other countries. The nations of old that will afford us by far the moſt ſpeculation are Greece and Rome, in them Liberty prevailed moſt, (for other States ſeem to have been governed in a manner bordering at leaſt on the tyrannic) they will give room for larger obſervations, as the hiſtories of them are filled with great variety, and abound with many incidents, for their forms of government were often changed.

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The firſt we know of Greece was at the time of the Trojan war; but there are ſo many fabulous ſtories of writers related of that age, that it is ſomewhat difficult to come at the real truth. Homer is the firſt of any eminence, and he exalts his heroes to a great degree; ſome Liberty, ſuited to the diſpoſitions of that age, was to be perceived among them; but they found kingly government gain too much ground upon them, ſo that their monarchies were changed into republics. Athens, the metropolis, was the ſeat of Virtue, Learning, and Liberty. And all the other ſtates of that country ſtrove to excel each other in valour and patriotiſm. They conſidered the man who attempted to encroach on their Liberties as an enemy to the ſtate, and accordingly carried ſuch meaſures into execution, as would prevent that man from doing any thing which might be detrimental to it in future.

A ſenſible Writer obſerves, that " Antient Greece ſeems to have been the ſpot " peculiarly choſen by heaven, as the ſcene " on which mankind were deſtined to diſ- " play, in the utmoſt perfection, all the ſu-

" perior faculties that diſtinguiſh them ſo " highly above the other animals on this " earth *." And indeed they ſo far excelled in all liberal arts, a becoming courage, and remarkable love of Liberty, that they gave all other nations the title of Barbarians. Nay, ſo ſcrupulous were they in every article, that when a perſon requeſted of the Athenians a larger force than he was poſſeſſed of, to quell ſome diſturbances abroad, the Managers of the public Affairs refuſed to grant it him, fearing it might be a pretence for more dangerous intentions; and leſt, by that means, he might make any attempt to leſſen or deſtroy the Liberties of the People.

We may obſerve ſome rough notions of Liberty in the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war; and, as they became more poliſhed, it ſhewed itſelf in a more pleaſing manner. Indeed, to be aſſured of their love of Liberty, one need only conſider the actions of the braveſt heroes, and the declamations of the greateſt orators of the age. Who that reads the Orations of De-

* A compendious Hiſtory of Greece.

moſthenes,

moſthenes, but muſt obſerve their thirſt after Liberty, and love of their Country. It was a ſpirit of Liberty that enabled them to oppoſe and render uſeleſs the ambitious attempts of two of the moſt powerful monarchs that ever ſat on the Perſian throne, Darius and Xerxes, with a bravery unparalleled. And had they not ſuffered the Perſians to overcome them by their pernicious politicks, in fomenting a jealouſy between the States, they had moſt probably ſubdued the Perſians with a high hand; but by theſe means they were afterwards ſubſervient to the great Alexander, who ſubdued the Perſian empire, and marched victoriouſly throughout all Aſia: So ſtrong is the love of Liberty in a people, to preſerve them againſt any encroachment, and to keep the enemy from any ways conquering them. When they join againſt a common enemy they are ſecure; but when they permit private quarrels to intervene, they then fall more eaſily into the hands of the enemy; and it is worthy of obſervation, that where a thirſt after Liberty prevails, it will be ſomewhat difficult, if not totally impoſſible, for an enemy to ſubdue them.

We will now take a ſhort view of the Roman State, and obſerve, that the bulk of the people were not behind the Greeks in Liberty and Valour; but when lulled by too great proſperity, they had ſuffered luxury to enervate their minds and bodies, they loſt that ardour after Freedom which had before ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed them, and conſequently experienced ſufferings which otherwiſe could never have happened to them. An uſeful leſſon this for all States! However, the ſame obſervation that was made on the Græcians, will hold good with reſpect to the Romans, that in a rough unpoliſhed State they were inſpired as it were with a love of Liberty, which plainly ſhews that Liberty is deſtined for every being. Tho' it may be accounted an act of oppreſſion in Romulus to have ſeized by force the Sabine women, in order to have them married to his own people, yet it muſt be acknowledged his deſign was good. And if we conſider the rude barbarous ſtate they then were in, his behaviour will be the more eaſily excuſed. He ruled in ſo juſt a manner, that after his death he was worſhipped as a God, which the people would have

have never brought themſelves to, had they been any ways oppreſſed, or worn the yoke of ſlavery during his reign. Out of the ſix kings that came after him, ſome purſued his paths, and gave the people peace; but others acted quite differently, inſomuch that Tarquinius Superbus, the laſt king, who acted the part of a tyrant, was therefore expelled. Junius Brutus, a Nobleman of an aſpiring temper and heroic diſpoſition, undertook the taſk, and was the chief perſon in driving Tarquin from the throne, and changing the form of government from a monarchy into that of a republick, in order to preſerve entire the Liberties of the people; for which he doubtleſs deſerved the thanks of his countrymen, and his name will be tranſmitted with honour to the lateſt poſterity. But when we hear, that in his ardor for the public good he could coolly ſee his ſons ſacrificed, when he might eaſily have procured their pardon, it takes off from that reſpect we before were inclined to pay to his character, and we conſider him as deficient in paternal affection. The truth is, his zeal for his country carried him too far, and made him look upon his

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connexion as too mean, when put in competition with the State. Rome, governed by conſuls choſen annually from the people, continued ſeveral years, and was happy in that condition; till Julius Cæſar, ambitious of ruling himſelf, and diſdaining a partner to aſſiſt him, brought the country into a civil war, which made a ſecond change in their mode of government, and a reign of emperors ſucceeded. As one of the conſuls, he might have been honoured by his citizens, but when he aimed at univerſal power, he gave a general diſguſt, his ambition was his ruin. His expreſſion, "that "he would rather be the firſt man in a vil-"lage than the ſecond at Rome," though the mark of an heroic ſpirit, ill became one of his ſuperior genius; for without ſubordination where would be ſociety. Equal to any thing, he might have commanded the world, had he ſhewn a proper ſpirit; but when he attempted to reſtrain the freedom of the people, all the patriots of Rome roſe up againſt him, and drove him from the throne, and one with a blow pierced his heart. Brutus, the intimate of Cæſar, ſacrificed friendſhip and ſocial pleaſures

ſures to the happineſs of his country, and gave the blow, which laid at his feet the ambitious dictator. He was perhaps too ſanguine and violent, but nothing, he thought, a ſufficient ſacrifice ſhort of Cæſar's death. Cæſar's immoderate thirſt after power tended to his deſtruction. Brutus's zeal for virtue failed of its reward. Cæſar, amiable and generous, ſubjected all to ambition. Brutus thought any mercy in this was a failing of human nature; and yet he afterwards declared, he had worſhipped virtue as a ſubſtance, and found it only a ſhadow; his life was not the happier, for he did not live long, and died at length by his own ſword; and yet we muſt allow his intentions were good, to keep the Liberties of his country from the hand of a tyrant.

His ſucceſſor governed in a different manner; he was the darling of his people; nay, ſo fruitful was Rome at that time in learning, genius, and virtue, that whatever age ſince that has been remembered, in which men of ſuperior abilities have ſhone on the theatre of the world, has been called the Auguſtan age. He favoured the diſpo-

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ſitions, and ſtudied the happineſs of his people, and was the patron of learning and learned men. Had his predeceſſor been poſſeſſed of his diſpoſition, how happily might he have governed! Auguſtus never encroached on the Liberties of the Romans, and by that means lived reſpected, died lamented, and went off the ſtage of life with applauſe. Of the emperors that followed, how few were virtuous, how different were their diſpoſitions! While we ſpeak with raptures of an Aurelius and a Titus, we debaſe to infamy a Nero and a Domitian! So hated were the latter, and beloved the former by the brave and heroic Romans. But as they grew proſperous, and their affairs ſucceſsful, they became thoughtleſs, and were immerſed in luxury and diſſipation. That ſpirit which was formerly employed to ſubdue former enemies, and conquer tyrannic power, was now ingloriouſly ſunk in luxury and idleneſs; and as they were before the talk and admiration of the moſt powerful States, they were now the jeſt and ſcorn of the meaneſt and moſt pitiful; they became an eaſy prey to their enemies. Such an enemy

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luxury to States the moſt great and powerful. It debaſes them to the loweſt ſtate of infamy, and makes them inglorious in the ſight of all the world: but when heroiſm and public ſpirit ſubſiſt, they make them tremendous, and reſpected for the love of Freedom and Liberty, and cauſe the thunder of their arms to be conveyed with awe to the moſt diſtant nations.

To endeavour to trace the conduct of the Romans in every point, and look into all the particulars of modern nations would far exceed my preſent purpoſe, it being only to take a general view of States, in order to ſhew the advantages of Liberty from thoſe examples, and endeavour to ingraft it, if it can be more done ſo, in the heart of every Briton.

Since the time of the Chriſtian Æra, new countries have been diſcovered, and the government of ancient nations has been changed, ſo that the world wears now a different face. Every nation has a different mode of government. A celebrated * poet ſays,

* Pope's Eſſay on Man.

For forms of government let fools conteſt,
Whate'er is beſt adminiſter'd is beſt.

But the author, from his own words, never meant that all governments are the ſame, and no one is better than another; but that no government, however excellent in itſelf, can be ſufficient to make a people happy, unleſs it be adminiſtered with integrity. On the contrary, the beſt ſort of government, when the form of it is preſerved, and the adminiſtration corrupt, is the moſt dangerous. From hence it appears, that though the forms of a particular government may be preſerved, yet the adminiſtrators corrupt, that nation will be in danger of loſing its Liberties. A learned prelate ‡ remarks upon thoſe lines of the poet, that "the reaſonableneſs of this re-"proof will appear evident enough to thoſe "who know that mad diſputes about Li-"berty and Prerogative had once well nigh "overturned our conſtitution; and that "others about Myſtery and Church-autho-"rity had almoſt deſtroyed the very ſpirit "of religion."

‡ Dr. Warburton.

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This obſervation is applied ſolely to our own country. But let us take a view of modern governments, and compare them with our own, and we ſhall then ſee where Liberty moſt prevails. In Aſia the princes are moſtly deſpotic; in Africa they are alſo arbitrary: it will avail us little to ſpeak of theſe. America is ſubject to other nations: in Europe lies the variety. It is calculated, that, dividing the known world into thirty parts, there are only five that have the Chriſtian religion. How ignorant muſt the remainder be. Aſia hath the Pagans, with ſome Turks. Africa has Heathens. In theſe inſtances they remain the ſame. Moſt of Europe, and the diſcovered part of America, contain the Chriſtians. In Europe is our field for obſervation. That Pagan nations ſhould have arbitrary government, is not extraordinary, conſidering they are immerſed in ignorance and obſcurity. But aſtoniſhing is it that Chriſtians, who know better, ſhould ſubmit to deſpotic rulers. The Turks alſo, who are of a ſlaviſh and uncommon diſpoſition, bear quietly the yoke of tyranny. The Turkiſh empire in Europe is totally ſubject

to the government of an arbitrary ſultan, whoſe will is law, and who takes away the lives of the people at pleaſure; and manages their life and property as if they were his own. Where then is Liberty, the birthright of every human creature? Why doth not ſome heroic ſpirit ariſe, to give his fellow-ſubjects their due, and free them from tyranny and oppreſſion? But fear makes them cowards; if they fail in their enterpriſe, they are ruined for ever. The ſpirit of Brutus dwells not in any modern Turk; and as they ſeem to be ſomewhat content under their deſpotic ſultan, they take no thought of the happineſs of other countries, where Liberty and Freedom bear a peaceful ſway.

We will leave this unhappy State, and take a ſlight view of other nations. And I am ſorry to ſay, that even in ſome Chriſtian countries where Popery prevails, oppreſſion, in particular inſtances, falls little ſhort of that exerciſed in Turkey. Greateſt part of the countries have the Roman Catholic religion. Some of the Greek church, and the reſt are nominated Proteſtants. In Ruſſia the go-

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vernment is deſpotic: that State has had in its time great revolutions. Peter the Great civilized, by his prudence and activity, that country, which before was rude and inhoſpitable: if he was arbitrary, he purſued the true intereſts of the people; but we know not who may hereafter rule that nation, for they may be deſpotic and wicked; miſerable then will the ſubjects be!

Some other countries enjoy the ſame Religion, and much the ſame Government. In France, where the Roman Catholic Religion prevails, the king is arbitrary; he baniſhes his ſubjects to diſtant places from the court at his will, and ſometimes for trifling offences. Other popiſh nations are much the ſame. Can Liberty then prevail in theſe States? Certainly not. There are ſome Ariſtocracies, as Venice and Genoa: though theſe are not ſubject to the will of one man, yet they are under the direction of the nobles, who often ſhew their ſuperiority, and gall them with oppreſſion to bring them to obedience. Holland may be called the only Democracy at preſent; for what they call the States General are choſen out of the people.

people. Yet even this form of Government has its diſadvantages. Diſputes about juſtice, and occurrences, may endanger them too much; the exertion of power may be delayed by truſting it to each other: ſo many to be called together may occaſion difficulties and dangers in many inſtances; and *yet* after all, it is an happy and free State, and enriched with Commerce, though it hath theſe diſadvantages attending it.

Where then, it will be aſked, is a true and happy form of Government to be found, if the Monarchial, Ariſtocratical, and Democratical, have each its diſadvantages? Turn your eyes to Britain, and there view all theſe three Governments mixed, and forming in it the happieſt and freeſt State in the world. Nor do Engliſhmen ſpeak this from prejudice ſolely, for foreigners confeſs the ſame. All Writers on Government are prevailed on to declare, that in no other State in the known world doth Liberty ſo much prevail as in Great-Britain: By mixing all the three forms of Government in one, we enjoy all the advantages attending each, and have the diſadvantages

remedied,

remedied, by one form or part aſſiſting the other. The freedom of each individual is a bleſſing unknown to the inhabitants of other nations. Thanks for all theſe means of happineſs, to thoſe glorious heroes who got them eſtabliſhed in the plain of Runney-Mead; and to thoſe worthies who procured Magna Charta for themſelves and their poſterity. Indeed, like all other conquered nations, we being ferocious and barbarous, were obliged to be conquered by force and arms, and deprived of that Liberty and licentiouſneſs we were before accuſtomed to; but it was neceſſary to ſubdue us, and was for our good and benefit: it was only to make way for greater advantages, for we have ever ſince that time been encreaſing in virtue, valour, politeneſs, and all liberal Arts and Sciences; aided and aſſiſted in our advances and progreſs in learning by the glorious help of Liberty. Nay, very early do we find the patriotic Alfred, by his prudent management, the darling of his people. By our ſucceſs in every thing under the protection of heaven, we have riſen to a great and powerful nation, prevalent in arms and arts. And though, like

other

other nations, we have had kings good and bad on the throne, yet we find our excellent Conſtitution is ſtill preſerved, and our Liberties given us ſafe by our anceſtors to this day.

Before kings had received that poliſhing and experience which they have had in late years, they uſed cruel and barbarous means to bring their ſubjects to obedience; they, unacquainted with the pleaſing and never-failing force of eloquence, took no gentle method to perſuade the people of England to obey their Government, but had recourſe to the inhuman method of commanding their obedience by force of arms; a proceeding, which, in latter times, is ſomewhat aboliſhed; for though on the firſt conquering a nation, we are obliged to uſe threats, at leaſt in ſome inſtances, yet upon the whole, an oration filled with endearing expreſſions, and delivered in a familiar manner, will ſooner bring over the people to obedience, than all the force and threats which conquerors are apt to uſe on the occaſion; by laying a light hand over them afterwards, and preſerving a reaſonable

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ſhare of Liberty, the monarch will engage them to his ſubjection for ever.

Thus the wiſe and patriotic Alfred reigned over his faithful people, lived univerſally beloved, and died juſtly lamented and regretted by all ranks and orders of men. But though he had all the learning and prudence which he could deſire, yet the people at that age, for want of experience, could not reliſh the polite Arts; the lower part were wild and brutal, and thought nothing Liberty but what was licentiouſneſs. Succeeding kings, for the moſt part, took not proper care to reſtrain them, and they remained almoſt as ignorant as they firſt were: but from the time that William the Conqueror reigned over this nation, politeneſs and learning, with liberty and valour, have been gaining ground, and are riſen to almoſt the higheſt pitch. It was neceſſary for William to uſe little means of threats with ſoft perſuaſions to reclaim his ſubjects; and however we may blame him for any acts of violence he did, or for his want of knowledge in the polite arts, yet it muſt be admitted, that ſince that time

every thing that reflects honour on this country has continually increaſed, and Liberty, which always makes a nation happy, has riſen to almoſt an enthuſiaſtic extravagance.

Of his immediate ſucceſſors nothing truly great can be ſaid; but when we reflect on our Henries and Edwards we are at a loſs to what we may compare them, for, ſharing a ray of divinity, they were the patrons of learning, the heroes of the age, and the defenders of their country. So juſt is it, that true patriotiſm conſiſts in preſerving the country from foreign enemies, in promoting learning, inſpiring the people with a love of Virtue and Liberty, and giving all aſſiſtance towards effecting ſo deſirable an end.

We will take our chief obſervations from the time of Henry the eighth; ſince which period, many turns and changes have happened in the affairs of England. This monarch, though arbitrary in his meaſures, tho' an encroacher on the Rights and Liberties of his ſubjects, and of a cruel and inhuman diſpoſition, yet from his reſentment and furious rage, he was the means of

delivering

delivering poſterity from the papal yoke of tyranny, and enabling them ſo far to defend their privileges, as forming a religious and civil inſtitution ſurpaſſing all others in the world.

In this manner was he of uſe to poſterity, and was the means which Providence uſed to give this favoured Iſle that happy change of Government we have ſince experienced. Henry, however, only laid the foundation, and left his ſucceſſors to compleat the work.

Had his ſon Edward the ſixth lived long enough, he ſeemed to have been formed for ſuch an undertaking; but dying in the prime of life, and Mary ſucceeding him in the kingdom, this change had well nigh been of little uſe. For Mary, bigotted as ſhe was to the Romiſh Religion, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to re-eſtabliſh popery in the kingdom: and being moreover of a cruel and inhuman diſpoſition, cauſed a diſſention in her government, and an hate to her perſon, in all parts of the nation, thoſe only excepted, who had for ſome private reaſons, favoured and ſupported her

cauſe. And miſerable ſhould we have been, had not heaven put Elizabeth in her ſtead. Elizabeth, on whoſe name we dwell not but with pleaſure: for there were added in her to a lively genius and quick underſtanding, an uncommon regard for the Liberties and Rights of her country: add, moreover, that ſhe was of an affable and courteous diſpoſition, and extremely ready and patient in hearing the complaints, and attending to the petitions of her people. Theſe qualities of mind and temper wrought ſo much upon a generous nation, and ſtruck ſuch terror into foreign courts, that ſhe was the darling of her ſubjects, and the admiration of the world. Lord Orrery * ſays, "that to "ſpeak candidly of our boaſted Elizabeth, "ſhe, in many inſtances, was a tyrant; "but ſhe was a tyrant with ſenſe and dig-"nity; ſhe knew the intereſt of the nation, "and ſhe purſued it; but ſhe purſued it in "an arbitrary manner." I would add, with all deference, to this learned and ingenious Writer, that ſhe can hardly be called a tyrant, but a perſon, who knowing the true intereſt of her people, thought it

* In his Letters containing remarks on Dr. Swift.

much

much better to inſiſt on their obedience, than to ſuffer idle and uſeleſs diſquiſitions to ariſe upon what ſhe knew was for their good and benefit. She maintained with all dignity the intereſt of the nation, and knew no good herſelf ſeparated from that of her people. Whenever any complaint aroſe among her ſubjects, ſhe did her utmoſt to relieve them; ſhe heard their petitions, and brought the ſufferers out of trouble; nay, ſometimes put herſelf to inconvenience and diſadvantages rather than her people ſhould ſuffer: and at one time went ſo far, as to pawn her jewels, to diſcharge a debt incurred, ſooner than pay it out of the properties of her ſubjects. In her reign Commerce flouriſhed, and brought riches into every part of the nation. Nothing indicates the happineſs of a people more than a prevalent and ſucceſsful Commerce with foreign countries, and a vigorous trade with every quarter of the globe. It is a certain ſign that Liberty prevails where Commerce flouriſhes; for, by experience we know, where arbitrary monarchy and deſpotic tyranny govern the kingdom, Trade is not extended; but what there is, is confined to the exchange

of

of commodities and neceſſaries among themſelves. This is viſible in the Turkiſh regions, where the will of the Sultan being the only law of the realm, the Trade of that country, though it might be carried on with very great advantage, is in reality nothing. Whereas, on the contrary, the Engliſh and Dutch, with ſome others, where the people have a ſhare, by themſelves or repreſentatives, in the Government of the Nation, excel in foreign Trade and Commerce. Where the Liberty of the ſubject moſt prevails, there Commerce is carried on with ſucceſs. The inhabitants of theſe happy countries have a better method to carry it on, and ſurer hopes of ſucceeding in their dealings with foreigners, when they have a voice in laying on the duties and reſtrictions ſuch dealings are to be under, than if they lived under a deſpotic monarch, who would lay ſuch Taxes as ſuited his inclination, and put more money into his private purſe. Agriculture, and all Arts and Sciences, muſt by the ſame rule flouriſh more under a free than deſpotic Government; of which latter I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Such was Elizabeth, that under her happy ſway theſe things flouriſhed; nor was it confined to one thing only, for Navigation made a great progreſs in this reign, and the diſcovery of new Countries added to her fame. Sir Francis Drake cauſed the power of her arms, and the force of her Government, to be conveyed to diſtant climes; and while he extended the glory of his Queen and Country, raiſed his own. In Stateſmen, Politicians, and Men of Genius, that age was not leſs fertile: a Raleigh and a Burleigh flouriſhed in her time; Shakeſpeare bore away the palm of dramatic poetry. She, herſelf, indeed, ſet the example to all others; and a manuſcript of her's, remaining at this day, reflects honour on the preſervers of it. And if you add to all this, that ſhe ſettled and eſtabliſhed upon ſure grounds that Religion we now enjoy, the pureſt in the world, our admiration of her is raiſed ſtill higher. Liberty, the foundation and ſupport of all theſe advantages, was ever uppermoſt, and marked her reign among the happieſt this nation ever knew.

I ſhould not have dwelt ſo long on the reign of this Princeſs, was I not perſuaded that ſhe was in a manner the means of our enjoying in peace that happy Conſtitution in Church and State we are at preſent bleſſed with, and which is a model for all other Sovereigns; and it is a ſurprize and aſtoniſhment to me, how any one can delight in debaſing the name, and defaming the character of this worthy Princeſs, ſince the good qualities ſhe poſſeſſed would far more than balance the frailties of human nature incident to her; and the benefits and advantages ſhe beſtowed on this nation are ſufficient to eraſe from our memory whatever little miſtakes, ariſing from unforeſeen accidents, and but well meant reſolutions, ſhe might have been led into in the government of her dominions.

So different was the conduct of James her ſucceſſor, from that of his great predeceſſor Elizabeth, that he ſerved only as a foil to her, and ſhe drew from him the greater merit. James was ſkilled in learning and letters, but here his talents ſtopped; the art of governing he was little acquainted with;

with; ruling with dignity was novel to him: And what made him worſe, was the extreme flattery, and almoſt adoration, the Engliſh paid their new ſovereign, when he firſt arrived among them. So that the obſervation of a Scotchman, "By my ſaul, mon, yon "feuliſh folk will ſpoil a geud king," was well adapted. He ſhewed too great a compliance to his Miniſters, who conſulted their own ends in every thing they offered, and, by that means, encroached on the Liberties of the ſubject. He laid the foundation of arbitrary power, and fooliſhly imagined the ſpirit of the Engliſh would ſubmit to it. Born with a temper fond of power, and deſirous of arbitrary rule, he would not admit the leaſt interference of his ſubjects in the affairs of the State. He claimed, and wanted to ſecure to himſelf, unlimited ſway; this was ſuch a direct infringement of the Liberty of the Subject as did not ſuit the ſucceſſors of thoſe, who, by their ſtruggles for Liberty, had procured benefits to their country. The zeal of James for his favourite points, carried him ſo far, as to ſhed blood in the perſon of Raleigh; the moſt deteſtable murder that ever diſgraced

theſe kingdoms. His impolitic attempts to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm in England, was the cauſe of all thoſe diſſentions which produced ſuch diſorders in the State, and which ended in a ſcene of blood and confuſion.

Charles, trained up by his father in a fondneſs for arbitrary Government, purſued it to an unhappy end: In his private character, humane, affable, and compaſſionate, with abilities far above the common rate, he would have done honour to any ſtation he had been placed in, had not this poiſonous principle been inſtilled into his younger mind to ſuch a degree, that no perſuaſion, no arguments, no accidents, could eraſe it from his diſpoſition. And having about his perſon thoſe who did all they could to humour and flatter this temper of mind, cauſed it to be ſo diffuſed into every part of his government and conduct, as raiſed an oppoſition which ſcarcely ended with his life. With this turn of mind, raiſed and inflamed by his miniſters and ſervants, he was led ſo far as to demand ſome members from the Houſe of Commons, a meaſure till then unprecedented,

and

and he proceeded to ſuch an unwarrantable height, as to lay and impoſe a tax or levy, which he called ſhip-money; an oppreſſion on his ſubjects, and a deprivation of their rights. This excited the patriotic Hampden to ſtand forth as the defender of the rights of his countrymen; he ſtruggled with all his might in the cauſe of Liberty, and oppoſed with all his power this unconſtitutional demand of the Sovereign. Theſe tranſactions alſo gave an opportunity to the daring ſpirit of Cromwell, of exerting itſelf, and bringing about ſuch events, as he imagined would in the end turn to his advantage. Charles, unwilling to loſe any part of his prerogative, and Cromwell, deſirous of purſuing his deſign at all events, the unhappy Sovereign was at laſt brought to the block, and the zealous Republican appointed Protector. Party had ſo inflamed the minds of men on each ſide, that rage and paſſion had taken place of reaſon, and blood proved the event of the diſpute. They had purſued it ſo far they knew not how to recede. Cromwell nouriſhed and favoured thoſe who wiſhed to extinguiſh the deſpotic ſpirit of the court, and de-

ceived them by falſe pretenſions to honour and charity. Nothing would ſatisfy his cruel mind but the blood of his ſovereign; and yet all this was done under the veil of ſanctity. But he prevailed, and ſaw the head of the unfortunate Charles ſeparated from his body. Such a leſſon, ſuch a proof doth this afford us, that the leaſt attempt to deprive the Engliſh of their Liberty, excites in them a ſpirit of oppoſition, and produces civil wars, that may end, as in this inſtance, in blood and the utmoſt diſtraction.

But the Protector did not long enjoy the fruits of his activity, for he, in a few years, paid the debt to nature; and heaven, after delivering the lawful Sovereign out of many difficulties and dangers, at length fixed him on the throne of his father. Layed as the late unruly paſſions of the Engliſh now were, and elated at ſeeing again the State in order and regularity, the rejoicings at having the Son of their former Sovereign alive and reſtored, were great and numerous. Days were appointed for the reflections on the death of their former Charles, and the reſtoration

reſtoration of the preſent. The nation was in a round of joy, and the King, being affable and obliging, made himſelf the more beloved: he was indeed more beloved than eſteemed. But too much proſperity made him regardleſs, and ſuch a change of fortune rendered him inconſiderate. Though he did not himſelf purſue ſuch arbitrary methods as his father, yet being more inclined to pleaſure than buſineſs, he took little thought of the affairs of the State, and truſted them to thoſe who wanted more to ſerve their private ends than the good of the nation in general. Though good natured himſelf, yet he ſuffered innocent blood to be ſhed by the hands of others, of which the names of Ruſſel and Sidney will ſtand forth as mementos. Though his affability and behaviour gained him many friends, yet the nation was juſtly diſpleaſed at his conduct. Such a King as this will never ſuit the Engliſh People; for though they are pleaſed with an eaſy condeſcending behaviour, yet they cannot bear that the Sovereign ſhould neglect the government of the kingdom himſelf, and commit it wholly to the management of his Miniſters; who,

intent

intent only on their own private intereſt, endanger the freedom of the People, and live themſelves in licentiouſneſs and diſſipation.

To ſay much of the next reign would be ſuperfluous. The Monarch finiſhed what the three former Sovereigns had partly carried on. The ſecond James, with an enthuſiaſtic and arbitrary mind inclined to popery, and favoured and humoured by ſome about him, attempted (and had he been left alone would actually have ſucceeded) to utterly deſtroy the Liberties of the People: but though ſome, who were abject time-ſervers, had preſented addreſſes full of promiſes of aſſiſtance, yet the nation at large were exaſperated at his doings, and even thoſe addreſſers at laſt forgot James and all his family. So terrible ſeemed the impending fate of the nation, and to ſuch a condition was the people reduced, that their Liberties ſeemed tottering on a precipice, and almoſt ready to fall. Well therefore may we exclaim with Lord Orrery *, "Such was the fate of poor Old "England!"

* In his Letters containing remarks on Dr. Swift.

Sunk

Sunk to the loweſt depth of miſery would England then have been, had not the great Naſſau come over to her relief. On ſuch a ſubject we can dwell with pleaſure. The glorious Revolution was the preſervation of theſe kingdoms. William, bred up from his infancy in a veneration for publick Liberty, and a deteſtation of all arbitrary meaſures, was the propereſt perſon to govern the Engliſh nation. Joyfully did he come over with his amiable conſort to reſcue this nation from the jaws of popery and deſpotiſm, and re-eſtabliſhed to her ſons Freedom and Proteſtantiſm. This introduced a change into the kingdom, highly reliſhed by all good men, and which cauſed laws to be made on a ſubſtantial footing to prevent the like inconveniencies happening for the future. This ſtep ſeemed likely to ſet the nation at reſt, and give her a durable felicity. The reſtoring to the people their former and reaſonable rights neceſſarily produced harmony and undeniable advantages to and amongſt them. Their commerce, agriculture, and all other benefits reſulting from their ſituation, muſt of courſe flouriſh more than they did under James, who wanted to govern

govern in every reſpect with an high hand; their Freedom reſtored, they could purſue every thing to the beſt advantage.

Thus was the Revolution brought about! and ſuch real advantages did it confer on this nation, that one would have thought the ſpirit of the people could not ſoon have been again fermented and brought to a violent oppoſition; but party again re-aſſumed her influence, and in the ſucceeding reign of Anne, glorious in many reſpects, two contending parties aroſe, which were diſtinguiſhed by the names of Whig and Tory. As a bar to Popiſh princes again guiding the helm, acts were paſſed both to prevent Roman Catholics being united with our Royal Family, and for the preſervation of our religious and civil Liberty. Under Anne our nation flouriſhed; the duke of Marlborough, by the many and glorious victories he obtained over foreign enemies, made the name of England and her Queen terrible in arms, and revered by diſtant countries, and himſelf reſpected by all ſtates with whom he had to do. But yet the children of Anne all dying, and there being

no

no near relation capable of ſucceeding to the crown, cauſed another ſtruggle in the nation. Few, very few in compariſon of the whole, wanted to reſtore James and his poſterity, being Roman Catholics, to the throne: on the contrary, the nation was almoſt unanimous in putting the crown into the hands of a Proteſtant prince. But then, what family ſhould after that fill the throne was the bone of contention in the kingdom. The Tories or High-churchmen could not brook the putting totally by a family who had filled the throne ſo many years: and indeed there was ſome reaſon in this, for we ought to be very cautious in affairs of this kind, as perhaps the welfare and proſperity of a kingdom depend on the reſolution of the people. The Whigs, or Low-churchmen, who thought the giving the poſſeſſion of the crown to the poſterity of a family who had brought ruin on the State, might again endanger the Liberties of the people, prudently gave their voice for placing the family of Brunſwick, which had ever diſtinguiſhed itſelf in the love of Liberty, on the throne of Great-Britain, to give peace and harmony to theſe nations.

The Whigs carried it in the Houſe of Commons by a majority of one only! Theſe affairs in the reign of Anne carried party rage to ſuch an height, that one ſide bore the moſt inveterate hatred to the other. "Two creatures (ſays an admired * author, ſpeaking of Whigs and Tories) who are "born with a ſecret antipathy to each other, "and engage as naturally when they meet "as the elephant and rhinoceros." But yet, among thoſe of each party who were endued with ſenſe and moderation, a correſpondence and intimacy ſubſiſted; they were above the low diſtinctions of party; and, though they differed in ſentiment, did not break off the ſociety that had been between them. Each party (we ought in charity to ſuppoſe) thought the method they purſued was for the good of their country. Theſe two parties, which by turns had been at the helm during the reign of Anne, at her death a little ſubſided. And, upon the acceſſion of George the firſt to the throne, the affairs of the State were committed to the hands of the Whigs. This prince, being endued with a great ſhare of wiſdom, and a natural

* Mr. Addiſon, in the Spectator.

love

love of Liberty, governed the nation in a reſpectable manner, for which aſſertion Addiſon*, among others, is a ſufficient authority. The Brunſwick family being in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom afforded a joyful proſpect to the people of England: and though the monarch was oppoſed by a ſet of lawleſs rebels, yet his loyal ſubjects ſoon overcame them, and they dwindled into nothing. Every thing beſpoke peace, by a looking up for kings to the ſovereign and his ſucceſſors, and from his favouring that conſtitution we now enjoy, and which is univerſally allowed to be the pureſt in the world in Church and State: as favouring the Liberty of the ſubject, and granting Freedom in all things he can deſire.

Such, then, being the Conſtitution of this kingdom, with ſo much Liberty as it grants to its inhabitants, it remains only that the people themſelves be conſcious of theſe advantages, and do all in their power to preſerve their Conſtitution, and conſequently their Liberty, entire. From this brief ſur-

* In his poem on the Picture of the King, and other places.

vey of nations, ancient and modern, it may be perceived how ſuperior we are to all others in the excellence of our Laws, and the government of our dominions; and even in our own kingdom, from the firſt foundation of any government here, it was never ſo compleat as it now is: from the many dangers it has been reduced to, and the happy eſcape from them, by the virtue, prudence, and bravery of ſtateſmen and heroes, we have been taught by experience to guard againſt every civil and foreign intruſion, and to paſs and maintain ſuch Laws as may give us peace at home, and keep up ſuch ſecurity to ourſelves as may create us reſpect abroad.

The teſtimony of all who have written on this ſubject is in favour of the Engliſh Conſtitution, as of that ſort which being compoſed of three forms of government, preſerves not only the name, but the very ſpirit of Liberty. In other countries, where deſpotiſm and arbitrary power prevail, all the views and deſigns of the nation are pointed to a wrong object, and the Arts and Sciences flouriſh little, being under the will

will of one man. Very different are the cuſtoms of the four grand diviſions of the world. In Africa, where the inhabitants are ignorant, or will not endeavour to be verſed in that Religion and Conſtitution which flouriſh in Europe; where they have no notion of the polite arts, and are in a manner born in a ſtate of ſlavery, all their dealings are purſued to this one object of *enriching their prince*, who by that means is to take the ſole care of governing the kingdom. In Aſia, though little different, yet the princes are endued with pride, and an high notion of their pre-eminence, inſomuch that they imagine themſelves the Lords of the whole world, and make their ſubjects to believe the ſame. America, being lately diſcovered in compariſon of the other parts, is under ſubjection to other princes: but having in an unknown ſtate enjoyed unlicenſed Liberty, they could not be reduced to a mean compliance: and other nations being now ſettled there, who have conſidered the various Conſtitutions of the world, and ſeen the happy effects of Liberty, they have for ſome time ſeemed determined to enjoy it in its utmoſt extent. The Europeans

ropeans have all forms, and as we have duly conſidered them, we cannot but give the preference to that of Great Britain: where there is better government than in a Monarchy; more impartial diſtribution of juſtice than in an Ariſtocracy; and matters are managed more by the conſent of the people than in a Democracy. In every thing Liberty prevails, and every individual has by ſome means a voice in the affairs of the State, ſo that we may ſay with a celebrated Orator *, " An Engliſhman is the un-" fitteſt perſon upon earth to argue another " Engliſhman into Slavery.

If Liberty exhibits ſuch a favourable proſpect of Government, every thing muſt flouriſh under ſuch auſpicious omens. Commerce we have ſufficiently ſhewn to flouriſh in the reign of Elizabeth, who was a friend to the genius and ſpirit of the Britiſh Nation. Certainly then it muſt rather increaſe in a Government formed on ſuch principles as the Revolution, for the Legiſlature of the Nation being compoſed of King, Lords,

* Mr. Burke, in his ſpeech for a reconciliation between Great Britain and America.

and

and Commons, the latter of whom are elected by the People, to repreſent them as one of the three Eſtates, no Tax can be laid on any thing, foreign or domeſtic, but by the conſent of the People themſelves, the inhabitants are not deprived of their money or property by the will of one or many; but they beſtow it as they think beſt, therefore Commerce muſt neceſſarily flouriſh in this land. Agriculture, as the People are free to tax themſelves, muſt alſo have a plentiful aſpect. The Arts and Sciences muſt alſo, by being nouriſhed and encouraged, make the Nation reſpectable. It has been ſaid, that Arts and Sciences may ſucceed better under a deſpotic Government and arbitrary Prince than any other; but if Liberty is grateful to the heart of all, they have thereby more time and more deſire to purſue and improve their ſchemes and attempts: and though a deſpotic Prince, who might have a taſte for Science and Literature, may encourage and protect them, yet he, at his pleaſure, can as well put a ſtop to them; whereas in a free State they can be followed as the People will, for the Sovereign cannot put a ſtop to their progreſs

greſs as he pleaſes, as any attempts of that kind would juſtly irritate the People againſt him. Add to all this that glorious privilege, the Freedom of the Preſs, and all muſt acknowledge the preference that is to be given to this Conſtitution above all others. In no other county is that privilege of ſpeaking and writing one's mind ſo great as in this. The benefits reſulting from this privilege cannot enough be admired and revered. It is at once the key of knowledge, and the door to all arts and ſciences: it is the only way to an attainment of any wiſdom, and has been the chief cauſe of the numerous diſcoveries that have from time to time been made and communicated to the Public, and are now viſible in the annals of this nation.

Among other political benefits we enjoy by the wiſdom of our anceſtors, is that great one of Trial by Jury; wherein not only the life of a man, but his property and concerns are determined by his Peers; this is a freedom unknown to other nations; at once the inſurance of property, and the ſecurity of life, the means by which

which juſtice may be impartially adminiſtered, and an advantage we ought not to give up but with life itſelf.

Theſe advantages then ought to excite every individual to do his utmoſt to ſecure this Liberty, the very eſſence of them, to poſterity; to maintain it in every part, and to keep it up in the Britiſh Nation; which may enable us to be a terror to others, as formidable in war, and reſpectable in peace, all things being guided by the ſpirit of Liberty. To incite us more, let us hear the words of a noble * Writer on this ſubject, and ever keep them freſh in our memory. "Liberty is to the collective body, what "health is to every individual body. Without "health no pleaſure can be taſted by man: "without Liberty no happineſs can be en-"joyed by ſociety." A fine alluſion, and happily conceived! With this notion and ſpirit of Liberty the Engliſh have been enabled to extend their conqueſts to diſtant climes, and the name of Britain has been ecchoed to the other hemiſphere. Not only

* Bolingbroke's Idea of a Patriot King.

places have we formed for garriſons and forts, but a vaſt extent of land, and opulence of inhabitancy. By the encouragement of our Kings, and the liberality of the People, but above all, by our national Liberty, philoſophers and enterpriſing geniuſes have been led to diſcover new countries, to ſeek out the qualities and habits of their natives, with the produce of their lands, and have cauſed the people to be civilized and made ſubſervient and beneficial to the Britiſh Nation; by granting them the Liberty of a poliſhed country, we have made them our own for ever; by a contrary conduct they had been continually revolting. So large, ſo extended are our dominions, that though great are our naval and land forces, we have greater revenues to maintain our equipments, and to guard againſt foreign foes.

To conſider the force, ſpirit, and advantages of Liberty, I dwell on the Engliſh Conſtitution, as that which ſeems to be the moſt favourable to it of any in the world: if ſo, happy would every State be if it would take example from it. It hath ever been

been remarkable for its ſtruggles in the cauſe of Freedom, and for ſuppreſſing and totally eradicating the leaſt encroachments on it. All the interior diſputes and altercations in this kingdom have ariſen from this cauſe, and though they might produce unhappy differences for the time, yet they ſhew that noble ardour and thirſt after Glory ſo inherent in their very nature. Though the kings of Great Britain have the moſt glorious privileges and advantages, yet have ſome, from an unjuſtifiable deſire of ſtill greater power, preſumed to trample on the Liberty of the ſubject: theſe things ſet them in a flame, and produced all the confuſion which has been ſtirred up at times among us. A patriotic king has more opportunity of ſhewing himſelf a true lover of his country in this than in any other State: for though a deſpotic prince may have more power in his hands, and an almoſt unlimited ſway over his ſubjects, yet the king of Great Britain having laws to go by, is bound to obey them; and though the former may, if inclined to virtue, promote the welfare of his people, yet there is the ſame chance of his being tyrannic, and

perhaps their utter ruin will enſue: whereas the latter, by exerting the ſpirit of the laws, and having the noble privilege of mercy, ſhews himſelf more reſpectable than the deſpotic monarch with all his power. Again, the deſpotic monarch muſt go by his own will, which too often fails him: the king of Great Britain has a code of laws for the religious and civil eſtabliſhment of his country ſet before him, paſſed after mature deliberation by the people of his land, and formed upon the foundation of Liberty, in its utmoſt extent.

Such, then, being our Conſtitution, will any one doubt a moment to acknowledge it the beſt, to admire the wiſdom of our anceſtors in planning it, and the policy of their poſterity in adopting and confirming it, and then allow us the freeſt people in the world.

This invaluable bleſſing, Liberty, the deſire of which is planted by Providence in our natures, and for the preſervation of which we are endued with ſagacity and courage, ought to be in the heart and mind of

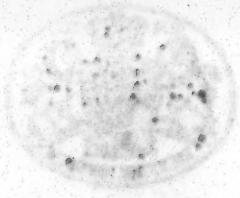
of every individual: it is not enough, ſhould it ever fail, that we ſilently look at it, and grieve at its decline; this is an inactive uſeleſs virtue. But the true Patriot will no ſooner ſee the leaſt falling off, than he will endeavour to recover it; from the very moment he perceives the leaſt deſert of freedom in his country, his mind will never be at reſt, till he has chalked out ſome method of reſtoring to his countrymen their violated rights. Every individual, from the monarch to the peaſant, is bound by the laws of nature and humanity to maintain and defend thoſe rights to the utmoſt of their power. In this doth patriotiſm conſiſt, and by theſe rules will the patriot preſerve his character.

* In this ſervice he ſhould readily afford
His tongue, his pen, his counſel, and his ſword.

Let every inhabitant, then, of the known world, who has any notion or idea of Liberty and the advantages attending it, lay theſe things to heart, and with all his might ſtruggle for this bleſſing. To you alſo, O Britons, do I addreſs myſelf. After conſi-

* Pomfret's Choice.

dering

dering the ſeveral Conſtitutions that prevail, and giving the preference to your own, endeavour to the utmoſt of your power to preſerve it entire, to keep that Freedom which your anceſtors procured, and to make all other nations, as they have hitherto done, ſtill acknowledge Britain to be the ſeat of Liberty.

THE END.